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## EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

## Towards a Citizenship Education for Zimbabwe

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper examines post independence Zimbabwe's attempts to introduce a form of citizenship education in the nation's education curricula, first in the name of Political Economy introduced at secondary school level shortly after independence in the early 1980s but abandoned soon afterwards, only to resurface as National and Strategic Studies in 2002 at tertiary institutions, specifically, at polytechnics and teachers' colleges. Observations based on the situation on the ground and documentary evidence indicate that attempts towards the provision of some form of citizenship education in Zimbabwe's education system have encountered some problems in the past which have largely been unresolved and continue to hound current efforts. This paper posits that the problems hampering the implementation of an effective citizenship education curriculum stem from the nature, scope, justification, modes of provision and the adoption strategies of citizenship education. The paper argues that for citizenship education to take root in the country's education curricula, it needs to be clearly defined, well justified and properly disseminated into the user system so as to secure 'buy in' from the various stakeholders and participants in the education system.*

### INTRODUCTION

The introduction of citizenship education by the Zimbabwean government in the form of Political Economy in the secondary school curriculum in the early 1980s as one of the many post independence innovation projects attracted trenchant criticism from various stakeholders, particularly the church and opposition political parties. The former perceived it as the socialist government's move towards restricting church activities in the country while the later saw it as government's way of propagating the ruling ZANU (PF) party's propaganda through the school system. Resultantly, the government prematurely terminated the curriculum innovation as the subject was dropped from the school curriculum around 1989 before the full cycle of implementation had been realised. However, in 2002, citizenship education re-emerged on the country's education landscape repackaged as National and Strategic Studies, but this time being offered as a compulsory subject at some levels of tertiary education, namely polytechnics and teachers' colleges (Nyakudya 2007).

The reincarnation of citizenship education in Zimbabwe is not peculiar to the country's education system as trends elsewhere in the last decade indicate. Britain, with whom the country shares some common curriculum elements as a function of colonial vestiges, introduced Citizenship Education for England and Wales for the first time in its long history of liberalism in 2001 (McLaughlin 2003). Other cases in point include Nicaragua and South Africa which introduced Citizenship Education in 1992 and 1994 respectively as the countries sought to forge new concepts of nationhood among their citizens (Garcia 1996; Kissack and Enslin, 2003).

While there seems to be some general conviction among governments that citizenship education is a necessary component of the curricula in their education systems at various levels, there is also the general observation that its implementation is somewhat problematic. The introduction of National and Strategic Studies at tertiary institutions in recent times has met with some negative perceptions (Chisi 2004; Nyakudya 2007). What, then, is the source of problems in the institutionalisation of citizenship education in the curricula?

One source can be traced to the ambiguous nature and form of the subject itself in terms of its conception, aims, objectives and the subject matter that constitutes its body of knowledge. Another problem, perhaps the biggest one, relates to the justification of the subject. Is citizenship education a worthwhile component of a national curriculum? What national and individual needs does it seek to address? Do the various stakeholders see the 'spirit' behind the subject? In other words, is there a shared view in terms of the subject's relevance among the various stakeholders in the curriculum enterprise?

Yet another problem relates to the best mode through which citizenship education should be provided for. Should it be offered as a 'stand alone' subject or discipline in the curriculum or should it be offered as some form of integrated study? A related question regards the level at which the subject should be offered – primary, secondary, tertiary or at all these levels?

This paper argues that for citizenship education to make an impact on the curriculum of any education system, concerns about its nature, its relevance and the mode through which it should be presented as pointed out above need to be addressed. To guide discourse in this paper, the following questions are pursued:

1. What is the nature and form of citizenship education?
2. What is the justification for its inclusion in the curriculum of a nation's education system?
3. What problems have impacted on its attempted implementation in Zimbabwe?
4. What should be done to ensure its effective implementation?

In order to appreciate the discussion that follows, there is need to briefly look at the theoretical framework that underpins the study.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study has its roots in the Curriculum Analysis branch of Curriculum Theory. According to Maravanyika (1986), Curriculum Analysis is primarily concerned with analysing the curriculum for its internal consistency vis-avis its goals and transactions, as well as its relevance and suitability to the broader milieu in which it is embedded. Such an analysis, Maravanyika (1986) goes on to say, is imperative because the curriculum itself is a human and social construct and, thus, it is amenable to contestation. For this reason, the curriculum should be subjected to periodic assessment for relevance with the view to revising it and changing some elements of it in tandem with the dynamics of the socio-political milieu which it ought to serve.

In agreement with Maravanyika, Mavhunga (2006:144) emphasises the imperative nature of curriculum analysis when he asserts that it is the business of curriculum “--- to overcome meaninglessness in any education system, hence the need to constantly subject the curriculum to some analysis.” Against this background, citizenship education as a curriculum project needs to be subjected to critical scrutiny in order for its worthwhileness to be ascertained. To achieve this, a curriculum analysis framework is adopted for this study.

The adoption of a curriculum analysis framework as the methodology of this study is justified because it enables the curriculum analyst to, *inter alia*;

- i. interrogate those critical antecedents that are inherent in and incidental to the evolution and implementation of a curriculum innovation, in this case citizenship education;
- ii. unravel and explicate the inherent relationship between the socio-political milieu and education in general, and more specifically within the context of this study, with citizenship education; and,
- iii. articulate the dynamics at play in a particular form of political organisation, in this case Zimbabwe as a democratic entity and the particular form and content of citizenship education that is concomitant to such a political setup.

Within the purview of the framework above, this study uses historical antecedents, philosophical and sociological foundations as well as comparative studies as the tools for analysis, all in a quest to answer the fundamental question that John Muller (cited in Soudien, 2006:111) asks, “What knowledge is of most worth for the millennial citizen?” More importantly, does citizenship education constitute part of that worthwhile knowledge?

## **THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

As noted earlier, one of the issues confounding the provision of citizenship education acceptable to all stakeholders within a nation is the vagueness of the concept, hence the need to attempt an analysis of it. The concept ‘citizenship’ can be traced far back to the Aristotelian foundation of Greek citizenship that was predicated on two principal virtues, namely the virtue necessary to rule and that necessary to be ruled. Citizenry in this set up comprised the rulers and those that were ruled.

Gould and Kolb (1964:88) provide what can be regarded as a contemporary conception of citizenship, defining it as “--- a state of relationship existing between a natural person and a political society known as a state, by which the former owes allegiance and the later protection.” Taking this conception further, Cogan and Derricott (2004) came up with five basic tenets of citizenship:

- A sense of dignity;
- The enjoyment of certain rights;
- The fulfillment of corresponding obligations;
- A degree of interest in public affairs and;
- An acceptance of basic social values.

Against this background, nations feel obliged to put in place measures to develop a good citizen who subscribes to the basic tenets above. But, further still, this notion of a good citizen needs further elaboration.

Gross and Dynneson (1991:4) define a good citizen as;

--- one who cares about the welfare of others, is moral and ethical in dealing with others, is able to challenge and critically question ideas, proposals and suggestions, and in light of existing circumstances is able to make good choices based upon good judgment.

With these attributes of a good citizen as spelt out by Cogan and Derricott (2004) and Gross and Dynneson (1991) in mind, the next question is: How can nations, through their governments, develop the good citizen for their envisaged good societies? This is the basis upon which the introduction of citizenship education in one form or the other into the curricula of various countries' education systems has been premised. However, what is conspicuous within the vast amounts of literature on citizenship education reviewed is the absence of consensus on what constitutes citizenship education as well as its epistemological credentials.

The lack of consensus as pointed out above has presented a definitional problem of the concept 'citizenship education'. To that extent, the concept has inevitably acquired a multiplicity of contextual definitions resulting in different countries using different terms to refer to the concept. While Britain and South Africa have retained the use of the term 'citizenship education' for their curricula programmes, other countries have adopted different terms with the United States, for instance, adopting the term Civics (Butts 1980). Zimbabwe, as has been observed earlier, once attempted to introduce citizenship education in the early 1980s in the secondary school sector packaged as Political Economy of Zimbabwe. After its demise, the field of study re-emerged in 2002 as National and Strategic Studies offered at tertiary institutions. To date plans are at an advanced stage to introduce a form of citizenship education in universities in the not so distant future in the name of Peace Studies (Report on Peace Studies in Universities in Zimbabwe, 2007). Other terms as well, such as Education for Democracy and Political Education have been encountered in literature.

While citizenship education is offered under different names in different countries, some common threads regarding its aims can be traced. The Crick Report cited in McLaughlin (2003) posits that citizenship education is about enabling citizens to make their own decisions and to take responsibility for their own lives and communities. Though the definition is somewhat bloated, it seems to tally with the definition of a good citizen given earlier. Gross and Dynneson (1991) go further to say citizenship education in the context of the USA is a societal means of enabling the youth to acquire knowledge, skills and values needed to maintain and perpetuate the republic. For the purposes of discussion in this paper, citizenship education shall be taken to mean an education that is concerned with the political, civic and socio-economic matters of a nation and its citizens. Consequently, the development of attributes of good citizenship is the ultimate *raison d'être* of citizenship education, no matter what term is used to describe it. In school curricula, citizenship education can be offered as a discipline of study or as an

## **THE RATIONALE FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

For any curriculum proposal to find currency in any education system, it has to be sufficiently justified (Mavhunga, 2002). Education is a very expensive endeavour and, as such, any subject or course included in a curriculum must justify the space that it occupies, otherwise it risks being marginalised or ejected altogether so that more viable options can be taken on board. As observed earlier, citizenship education has struggled to gain and maintain a foothold in the curricula of education systems of many nations, particularly so in Zimbabwe where some stakeholders have often voiced dissent whenever a form of it is introduced. Thus it becomes pertinent to ask: What are its real and/or perceived benefits as a curriculum option?

## **HISTORICAL BASES OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

Citizenship education has its roots traceable through historical times. Fagerlind and Saha (1989) contend that education has always had the role of political socialisation of citizens in early states; hence governments have always played a leading role in determining the curricula of schools. The above assertion finds resonance in Pratte's (1980:3) assertion that "no nation-state in history has had the luxury of turning out citizens who did not possess a modicum of civic competence."

An analysis of historical antecedents validates the assertions above. Greek democracy of the Aristotelian era was fundamentally preoccupied with education for citizenship as Aristotle cited in Watkin (2000:13) once wrote,

"It is a law giver's duty to arrange for the education of the young. In states where this is not done, the quality of the constitution suffers."

A direct link between governance and education can be discerned from this statement. Rousseau, cited in Wiborg (2000) was equally concerned with the link between politics and education when he wrote that the education of children for their future duties as citizens could not be left to the mercy of their parents alone but had to become part of a system of public education to be provided by the state with definite rules and recognised teachers.

However, it was in the aftermath of the American Revolution (1875 – 1879) that some form of properly structured citizenship education in the formal education system became ingrained as a political instrument for the socialisation of young citizens in the new American states. According to Butts (1980) universal education in the USA owes its genesis to the government's quest to have every citizen access political education. "Education for citizenship is the primary purpose of universal education," says Butt (1980:6). He goes on to attribute the success of the USA to citizenship education which he considered a critical factor to national development.

From the historical evidence presented above emerged Civics which is a form of citizenship education offered in American schools to date. Political socialisation of the entire citizenry is the major goal of citizenship education in the USA and it is in the pursuance of this goal that "— civics classes are compulsory and concentrate primarily

on early American history – the founding fathers and early presidents,” Ponton and Gill 1988:279). From an historical point of view, therefore, citizenship education has always had the politics of the state as one of its major concerns in its quest to instill in the citizens those key values that are deemed essential to the survival and reproduction of the state. Other nations, taking a cue from America which is deemed the ‘paragon of democracy’ also justify the inclusion of citizenship education from more or less similar historical antecedents.

### **CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY**

In modern times, citizenship education is justified on the basis of democratic principles and values that governments want to project and foster among their citizens. According to Kissack and Enslin (2003), citizenship education is a prerequisite in states that are characterised by:

- i. representative democracy in which citizens not only elect but also monitor their representatives, holding them accountable and influencing policy-making processes, and;
- ii. a participatory democracy where citizens are directly involved in all phases of policy making and implementation.

Against the above position, the question that comes to mind is: Why citizenship education in a democracy?

Uster *et al* (1997) establish a link between Citizenship Education and democracy. They posit that, in fact, Citizenship Education is synonymous with Education for Democracy. Taking the argument further and arguing from a maximalist perspective, Kymlicka (2002) says at the heart of Citizenship Education is the empowerment of the citizenry to participate and become actors rather than passive subjects in the affairs of the state. The basis of this argument is that the successful discharge of state duties requires the citizen to understand the political processes of the state on one hand, and acquire the skills of expression on the other. Such knowledge and skills combine to give the citizen the competence that is essential for full and effective participation in society (Oster and Starkey, 2002). In a profound sense Citizenship Education creates a virtuous citizenry that is ready to participate in the democratic institutions of the state. Thus, a well functioning democracy requires a citizenry that is educated, informed, active, able and willing to take responsibility for the wellbeing of society (Kymlicka, 2002).

Butts (1980) puts the primary goal of Citizenship Education as the preparing and empowering of citizens for their duties as “--- informed, responsible, committed and effective members of a modern democratic political system,” (Butts, 1980:132). Gross and Dynneson (1991) go further to assert that the citizenry is the fourth pillar in a democracy, the three others being the legislature, the judiciary and the executive. They argue that the quality of the later three pillars is dependent on the quality of the former. A good citizenry is prerequisite to a good democracy.

The citizenry envisaged as outlined above cannot develop unaided but has to be developed through the formal education system as those skills picked up through ordinary experience can never be sufficient to equip citizens for the roles required by modern societies ( Citizenship Foundation, 2002). In support of the introduction of Citizenship



Education as a tool to enhance democracy in Great Britain, the then Lord Chancellor (1998) once said, "We should not, must not, dare not be complacent about the health and future of British democracy. Unless we become a nation of engaged citizens, our democracy is not secure" (Citizenship Foundation, 2007:7).

### **CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND PATRIOTISM**

The traditional, and perhaps the most common argument that has often been advanced in support of Citizenship Education is the perception that it (Citizenship Education) is a convenient, and, indeed, efficient vehicle for the inculcation of patriotism through the forging of a common national identity. This notion has its origins in the Rousseauian philosophy whose major proposition is that education must be used to shape patriotic citizens. Rousseau once wrote;

There can be no patriotism without liberty, no liberty without virtue, no virtue without citizens ----To form citizens is not the work of the day; and in order to have men it is necessary to educate them when they are children, (Rousseau in Wiborg 2002:238).

Rousseau's patriotic education emanating from his philosophy cited above emphasised the teaching of the language, literature and history of the nation-state and this was meant to inculcate a sense of patriotism in the young citizens and without which the young would be ill-prepared to fulfill the needs of society.

Modern states have borrowed from Rousseau's philosophy regarding patriotic education which is a form of Citizenship Education, using it as a socio-political engineering tool. Nations, particularly those emerging from civil strife and civil wars see Citizenship Education as a critical tool for forging a sense of nationhood, national identity and unity among citizens left divided by civil unrest. Nicaragua and South Africa present cases in point, both having emerged from civil strife recently. Citizenship Education has been introduced in these countries to unite former belligerents into a single nation sharing the same value systems and bound by the same national goals under the banner of patriotism. South Africa, for example, is striving to build what it calls a 'Rainbow Nation' through emphasis on Citizenship Education as envisaged in the Revised National Curriculum Statement (Msila, 2007).

### **TOWARDS A CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR ZIMBABWE**

Prior to independence, Africans, who constituted the majority of the population in Zimbabwe, were treated as sub-humans by European colonisers (Mungazi, 1991). Among other many forms of injustices, they were denied the most fundamental citizenship right of franchise (Mandaza, 1986). In addition, the colonial government deliberately restricted Africans from accessing some basic education, fearing that an educated African would agitate for majority rule, which they eventually did, going to the extent of waging a liberation war that culminated in the convening of the Lancaster House Conference of 1979. The conference yielded a constitution that entrenched parliamentary democracy, providing for direct elections of parliamentary

representatives through periodic general elections (Zimbabwe Constitution, 1996). It was this constitution which ushered in the present state of Zimbabwe in 1980, giving Africans a franchise for the first time.

The background outlined above presents a situation where the African majority were strangers to the requirements and responsibilities of democratic citizenship which they were, all of a sudden, expected to exercise (Mandaza, 1986). This provided a strong justification of some form of citizenship education in order to support the fledgling democracy. As stated earlier, citizenship education is viewed by many nations (including the champions of democracy such as the United States and Great Britain) as an instrument for developing citizens that cherish values of democracy as enshrined in the nations' constitutions such as the one for Zimbabwe.

Another phenomenon that provided impetus to the need for the introduction of citizenship education was that the nation was emerging from civil strife in the form of the liberation war that had pitted the indigenous Africans against the European colonisers resulting in a disunited post independence Zimbabwean nation. There was, therefore, the challenge of uniting former belligerents into one nation sharing the same values of nationhood. The situation was further compounded by the eruption of political disturbances in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces that resulted in a military conflict between government forces and army dissidents, further complicating efforts towards uniting the people into a single nation with a united citizenry.

Against such a background, the Rousseauian philosophy of citizenship education discussed earlier in the paper becomes the relevant tool for inculcating patriotism and forging a spirit of nationhood. On this basis, citizenship education was necessary in the post independence Zimbabwean education system. The first major effort towards a form of citizenship education in post independence Zimbabwe came in the form of a subject titled Political Economy of Zimbabwe which was introduced in the secondary school curriculum at the Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) level around 1985. According to Madondo (1998) the subject was an outgrowth of government's pursuance of its ideology of Scientific Socialism.

In outlining the purpose of Political Economy of Zimbabwe the 1986 ZJC Syllabus says:

In the process of studying Political Economy the pupils will acquire a better understanding of the development of human society and the world. They will be equipped to tackle the political, economic and social problems facing Zimbabwe using dialectical and materialist tools of analysis.

Chisaka (1999:24) proffers a related aim of Political Economy when he says.

Political Economy was meant to 'transform ideas' and therefore create an environment whereby the masses and peasants would develop the national consciousness, the self-identity and the self esteem necessary for a people to take independent initiatives from outside forces ---.

The aims of Political Economy as envisaged above are couched in socialist terms and this provided one major source for its resistance by some stakeholders particularly the church and opposition political parties. While the intention of the government may have been motivated by a genuine interest to foster a sense of nationhood and patriotism among school going children, this view, it seems, was not shared by the other players in the education enterprise. The church, for instance, saw it as government's move towards introducing communism with the aim of restricting church activities and influence in the country with the aim of eventually banning the church altogether. This view seems to have received support from the Western capitalist world which was wary of the spread of the communist ideology of the East since this was during the period of the cold war (Jansen, 1991).

Opposition political parties were equally concerned. They saw the introduction of the subject as government's way of propagating the ruling ZANU (PF)'s political propaganda through the education system, thereby giving it an advantage over the opposition on the political front. Parents too, for one reason or the other, voiced concern over the introduction of Political Economy in the school curriculum. Consequent to the disquiet as outlined above, Political Economy as a form of citizenship education was prematurely abandoned around 1989 before it had taken root in the school system. (Jansen 1991).

What seems to be the apparent reason for the demise of Political Economy as a subject in the secondary school curriculum was the lack of shared vision between the government as the curriculum change agent and the other stakeholders in education as cited above. The manner or strategy used in introducing the change was faulty in that it followed what Havelock and Huberman (1977) call the 'power coercive' strategy which uses some amount of force in getting the user system to adopt change in the curriculum. This strategy often attracts suspicion on the part of the user system, resulting in resistance in most cases, if not outright 'tissue rejection' as seemed to have happened in the case of Political Economy. For curriculum change and innovation to succeed, change strategies that seek to achieve stakeholder 'buy in' are recommended because they have better chances of achieving desired results.

A covert way of re-introducing some form of citizenship education in the education system in recent years was through the introduction of a new compulsory 'O' Level History syllabus in 2002 with a bias towards Zimbabwean history, particularly that of the liberation war. The more overt approach was through the introduction in 2002 of National and Strategic Studies (NASS) as a subject in tertiary institutions, more specifically, at teachers' colleges and polytechnics. According to Nyakudya (2007), the aim of introducing NASS was to "--- help foster a sense of patriotism among the country's subjects, which is good for national development."

In spite of the noble intentions behind the introduction of the subject, Nyakudya (2007) notes that there was a lot of resistance by many stakeholders who were suspicious of government's intentions. He says with reference to the introduction of NASS;

The new discipline was therefore met with a lot of criticism, the most critical arguing that this was a move by the government to indoctrinate graduates from tertiary institutions and produce subjects unquestioningly amenable to the dictates of the regime. In short, therefore, NASS has been skeptically viewed by opponents of the government as a tool of the ruling party to achieve total control over the minds of Zimbabwean youths (Nyakudya 2007:116).

Just like in the case of Political Economy, NASS as a form of citizenship education attracted criticism from various stakeholders. Because of its very nature, citizenship education, in whatever form, encapsulates elements of political education. The timing of the introduction of NASS in 2002 “--- at a time when the political landscape in the country was fraught with conflict and extremely volatile ---” (Nyakudya 2007:115) was bound to be viewed with suspicion. Further to that, the appropriateness and significance of the name of the subject itself was, according to Nyakudya (2007), questioned. To whom was the subject 'strategic'? Yet, according to the same author, the subject is of national importance in the sense that it seeks to foster patriotism to citizens and this is quite in line with the Rousseauian philosophy.

To buttress the point raised above, reference is made to the preamble to the NASS syllabus which states, “The aim of the subject is to foster patriotism and national pride, inculcate commitment to national development, promote harmony and national unity and develop an appreciation of the national heritage,” (NASS Syllabus:1) Again, what could have been the problem leading to the criticism of the subject was the manner in which colleges were directed to introduce the subject without much effort being made to assist the various stakeholders capture the 'spirit' behind the subject.

From the discussion above, the need for some form of citizenship education in the Zimbabwean education system is well justified. What seems to be contentious is the timing of its introduction, the approach used in introducing it, the name given to the subject and the emphasis and inclination that the content takes. The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training (Nziramasanga 1999) came out strongly in support of citizenship education in the Zimbabwean education system supported by findings from its inquiry. The Commission categorically stated:

The Commission views Citizenship Education to be the centre of the education curriculum for the Twenty First Century Zimbabwe. It is central to all forms of learning as the subject deals with instructing learners in citizenship transmission and democracy. --- Citizenship Education teaches our children to respect their country, culture, values and norms which enable them to grow into good citizens who conform to certain accepted practices; train them to hold beliefs, be loyal to the country, knowledgeable of the legal system and participate in certain activities that conform to local norms (Nziramasanga 1999:353).

The justification for the inclusion of citizenship education given by the Commission as stated above seems to be in tandem with that given by various authorities as discussed earlier in the paper. The Commission went on to propose that citizenship education should be introduced as a matter of urgency in Zimbabwe as a compulsory subject across the entire education system spanning from primary to tertiary levels. The Commission went even a step further to suggest content elements that the subject should cover. These include morality, the country's heritage, the Constitution of Zimbabwe, branches of government, the country's legal system, national identity, international understanding, among other issues (Nziramasanga 1999).

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Discussion in this paper has shown that despite differences in conceptualising the exact nature and form that citizenship education should take, it still is a worthwhile component of the curricula of any nation's education system. The analysis has been done basing on historical as well as sociological and philosophical perspectives. Some comparative analysis was also done. A detailed examination of Zimbabwe's attempt to introduce citizenship education in one form or the other since attainment of independence in 1980 was also done. What emerged was that a strong case for the inclusion of citizenship education in the country's education system exists. What seems to be problematic was the timing of its introduction, the strategy that the country adopted when one form or the other of citizenship education was introduced in the education system as exemplified by Political Economy in the mid 1980s and NASS in recent times and the nature of content for the subject.

This paper supports the recommendations made by the 1999 Presidential Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training that Citizenship education, due to its central role in developing a 'good citizen', should be taught as a compulsory subject across the entire education system from primary school to university level (Nziramasanga 1999). The current NASS programme in tertiary colleges can be used as the basis for further development of a nationally accepted citizenship education programme.

Learning from past mistakes particularly from the aborted Political Economy of Zimbabwe experience it follows that, appropriate strategies that take all stakeholders on board during the curriculum development process should be adopted when introducing the subject. A fusion of the Research, Development and Diffusion (R, D & D) and the Normative Re-educative strategies as propounded by Havelock (in Havelock and Huberman 1977) could assist. The approach entails that experts thoroughly research on the aims, objectives, content and evaluation procedures for the subject, all within the Zimbabwean context before the subject is introduced. Use of experts to spearhead the development process would obviate the major criticism leveled against previous efforts to introduce citizenship education, that it is government's ploy to indoctrinate the citizens.

Once appropriate curriculum materials have been developed for the various levels of the education system, concerted efforts should be made to 'sell' the new curriculum to the whole user system, particularly the teachers at the 'chalk-face', as well as parents and the learners themselves. Use of various curriculum diffusion and dissemination modes to

reach the entire user system, including various forms of media should be used. The idea is to secure stakeholder acceptance of the subject in order for them to support its teaching in schools. Teachers would need to be empowered with the necessary knowledge and skills through rigorous in-service training programmes and workshops in order to adequately equip them to effectively teach the subject. The necessary teacher and pupil materials should also be in place before the subject is launched. Otherwise citizenship education, with all its potential to develop patriotic, law abiding citizens with self respect and democratic values will always falter at the expense of national development.

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